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Studies on the Mundurucú Tribe
(Estudos sobre a Tribo "Mundurucú")

By
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Hoc facit, ut longos durent bene gesta per annos
Et possint sera posteritate frui.

RIO DE JANEIRO

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Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe: A Memoir
Written and Read before the Brazilian Historical
and Geographic Institute by Engineer
Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, Cor-
responding Fellow of the Institute.

I

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Journey to the central Mundurucu villages, sit-
uated in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. --
Itinerary from Belém, capital of the province
of Pará, to those villages. -- Scenes of savage
life.

I left Belém on the eighteenth of June, 1875, bound for the
Upper Tapajoz.

The journey up the Amazon from Belém to Santarém and
up the Tapajoz from Santarém to Itaituba takes five days on one of
the big steamers of the Companhia do Amazonas.

At Itaituba I embarked in a small canoe manned by eight
Indians, nearly all of the Maucé tribe, and proceeded through the
falls of the Upper Tapajoz.

797

Ten days later I reached the Mission of Bacabal, which was
founded by order of the Imperial Government and established on
the right bank of the Tapajoz on the twenty-third of February, [74] 1872.

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Translator's Note:

Whenever possible, the spelling of Portuguese and aboriginal
words -- including names of places, tribes, rivers, plants,
native foods and implements -- has been changed to its
modern Brazilian equivalent.

Portuguese personal names and trade names, book titles,
aboriginal word lists and Mundurucu quotations have been
left untouched, as have a few other native words of uncer-
tain phonetic rendition and those that would require the use
of letter combinations equally foreign to present-day Portuguese.

797 by Fr. Antonino and Fr. Felino de Camoalima. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

[24] The missionary Fr. Felino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

114 I continued my journey up the Tapajós and reached the mouth of the Cadereri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajós, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadereri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadereri.

[20] The older of the two savages responded with the following sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced 803 a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadereri, who could guide us to the village of Necodemus whence he and his companion came. [75]

[103] I was impressed by this name of Necodemus which the Mundurucu gave one of their main villages, for it is the name of the generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemus in preference to any other.

27 According to the same informant, some warriors from this village had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necedoma and I encountered there, more vivid than anywhere else, the legend of Shodorwa beginnings which consider this very maloca or village the cradle of the human race.

133 I continued up the Cadeneri, Sianga river. Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. There was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadeneri, as well as the Araguaia, Iruena, Mamoré, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tucuriki, the Tapajós, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, leaving their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is deeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [70]

63 Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by 49 the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

64 I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable; we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently, [i.e., Necedoma - Salpa]

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and two small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two more youths.

Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in these parts -- men and women, children, youth -- and children -- went altogether naked.

We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mandarins tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the hennings and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [75]

The old Mandarins, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cabaeri to the village of Sacandera on the plains.

At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cabaeri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

604
[302] From the rafters hung our hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, beads and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled with the fruit of the market palm (*Attalea speciosa*). he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Neandama if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging stranger who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Abenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what hostility we were to encounter.

362 The village of Abenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

[303] We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[304] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

312 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the incisions, that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

605 When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

123
606 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Abenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

279 to turn them. Weumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While using one of these woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of these numerous breaks that wind the way everywhere, and that constitute the head-
583 stream of the Caderi, I met a young family. The head was no more than eighteen years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, pale already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They were accompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests the young couple had not yet been painted with the indelible dyes the wife, but the young woman, who had been
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24 In the afternoon I easily lost my way among the trails leading to the village. The blind Indians who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the mission while I still struggled with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mandarino Indian from Tecuacapan, who had previously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon this strange, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short, fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [21]

I arrived at Tecuacapan at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a strange tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil, living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I now before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss, fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of their unhappy fate.

609 When I arrived, some eighty men Mandarinos awaited me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

32 To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

609 I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of the few words in their language I had memorized for such purposes: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

607 himself to me, offering me some copper with another word which
 608 I had also learned: "Cakicobi."

609 Then I went into one end of the large house which is
 occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. (112)

The wanderers whose hammocks hang on that side,
 and whose women might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me
 the space and moved to the other side.

610 I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
 611 in Tarnished. It was all the more surprising as it came from
 barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Every-
 thing was placed at my disposal, nothing was done that might of-
 fend or inconvenience me.

612 Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
 613 a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female
 sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I
 lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called
sigi.

My host was a festive occasion for the women; they
 gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the sporadic
 candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing
 case [carriage]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from
 hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The wanderers greatly
 enjoyed this diversion. It was to them a unique and quite un-
 expected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they
 replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each retired immediately
 to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cais di!"

614 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
 615 all through the night in their quarters or sigi. It seems to be a
 sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to
 awaken, brushes his comb [the-ur de was couded], waves
 the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock,
 and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man
 follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes
 mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage
 pastime. (113)

27



A Mundurucu makes me a present of the
mummified head of a Parintimin girl,
and tells me how and why he killed her.

One of these barbarians, who was twenty-five or thirty
years old, energetic and bold, and a valuable warrior, makes me a
present on the following day of the mummified head of a
Parintimin girl. This head, which is now to be found in the Na-
tional Museum (Rio de Janeiro), retains its abundant hair, which
is partly shaved in front as though with a razor. The forehead then
appears to be prolonged nearly to the middle of the skull, in the
center of this artificial forehead stands a circular cluster of black
hair. This head, which was ornamented with [44] brilliantly
colored feathers, must have belonged to a girl fashionable in her
own tribe.

Now I must point out that the Mundurucu often make war
on enemy barbarians for the purpose of capturing women and chil-
dren rather than killing them. They do kill the men, whose heads
they preserve as trophies. When preparing for these forays, they
usually say: "I am going because I need a woman to marry, or a
little one to be my wife's child."

A Mundurucu warrior would therefore be greatly con-
cerned to capture rather than to kill a girl like the one whose head
was offered me.

Indeed, the barbarian told me that he had killed her by
mistake, falling in the heat of battle to discern her sex. She was
running out of the hut which he and his companions had taken as
down by surprise, and he had thrown himself upon her, piercing
her through the back with his powerful spear. He felt sorry when
he found that she was a woman, and a young one at that. But
nevertheless he cut off her head, removing the brain, and smoked
it over a green wood fire until it became mummified.

It was strange to witness the extreme tenderness the
barbarian bestowed on this enemy head. A deadly hatred has ruled
for many years between the Mundurucu and Parintimin tribes, and
wars of extermination take place between them.

[See p. 2, col. iii, - 1877]

Yet this Mandaraca had gone gently and over the Parastatin head. He would not part with it for an instant. When the time came for me to leave Necodemus, as I shall relate here, he and twelve other Indians escorted me on my eight-day journey through the forest to the headwaters of the Calumet. In the course of this trip, when evening came and we had to stop for the night, the Indian would thrust into the ground next to his hammock a staff which he carried especially [18] for this purpose, and on which he would hang the head, as if on a clothes-rack, covering it carefully with a cloth I had given him.

At dawn, his first glance was for the head: he would place it in his lap, run his fingers through its long hair, and caress it as if it were a beloved daughter.

He only handed me this relic at the last moment, when I had already embarked for my descent of the Calumet, and then he still said: "But I wanted it for myself!" I must say I had made him a present of a double-barrelled shotgun, some gunpowder, shot-load, and other objects. Nevertheless, his gaze followed us until our canoe had vanished down the river.

In Necodemus there was yet another mutilated head. It had been the head of a Parastatin warrior. The Mandaraca who owned it, already quite old, did not wish to show it to me and would not talk about it. I did not press the issue. Some of the Mandaraca wore necklaces made from the teeth of enemies they had killed.

I saw children said by my interpreter to be captives taken in the last war. The villagers, however, did not even mention the subject: perhaps they feared that we should want to take their prisoners from them.

V

Legend of Mandaraca beginnings. -- Beliefs and traditions. -- Appearance of "Cano-Sacacé." -- Ingratitude of the inhabitants of Acupari -- Punishment. -- Necodemus as the cradle of the human race.

It seemed to me that I could distinguish traces of an ancient civilization among these strange people. The Mandaraca

773 Now it so happens that a large cave actually exists near the
 [102] present site of Acupari. The Mandarins say that even today the
 grunts of wild pigs and cries of apes may be heard there.

Others state that women's ornaments such as bangles made
 of chestnut shells may be found near the cave entrance, as well
 as other vestiges of the tremendous catastrophe. The Mandarins
 have not entered the cave of Acupari.

Then Care-Sacacelb left with his men, the only survivors of the
 disaster.

Arriving at the place where Necodemus stands today, he
 stamped his foot upon the ground, and from the large fissure that
 resulted he drew one pair of Mandarins, one of white people, one
 of Indians, and one of Negroes.

[102] Care-Sacacelb painted the Mandarins couple in the same
 fashion as he himself was painted, and this was the origin of the
mandarins of Necodemus and the beginnings of the tribe, which grew
 so large and powerful that the earth shook when they marched off
 to war.

The white people, the Indians and the Negroes set off to
 populate other lands.

In Necodemus, Care-Sacacelb laid out a field and sowed it,
 and when the first rains fell there sprouted manioc, maize, sweet
 potato, yam, cotton, and other food-yielding and medicinal
 plants.

He taught how to build ovens and how to make manioc flour.

He made a small wooden statue, gave it life, and named it
 Hanbu-Acaulir; this was his second son.

To provide Hanbu-Acaulir with a mother, Care-Sacacelb took
 as consort a maiden of the tribe by the name of Chirichá. (86)

Hanbu-Acaulir grew; some women eluded the vigilance of
 Chirichá and seduced him.

Care-Sacacelb changed Hanbu-Acaulir into an ax, and
 Chirichá and the guilty women into fish.

Necodemus was already strong and powerful.

773 Care-Sacacelb drew on a high rock between Acupari and
 172 Necodemus those symbolic characters which are still to be seen

773 on the hills of Acurul. He had first climbed away by the clouds,
 172 and he himself disappeared from Necodemon, following the course
 of the Tapejé; on the left bank of the river, at a height no in-
 man hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff
 of Castagala.

773 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mandarins
 faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and point them-
 selves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion
 as Caro-Sacacil was painted.

97

Appearance of the dog in Necodemon --

Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful
 friend. The Mandarins, who are hunting savages, picture the
 dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe
 and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the maloca and
 disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence
 he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story runs as follows. After Caro-Sacacil had disap-
 peared, the Mandarins of Necodemon continued [98] to hunt,
 searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while
 they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caro-
 Pinibê appeared at the maloca.

He went to the chicá, climbed into a hammock, seized a
 horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar
 way. A maiden of the maloca, Inachero by name, responded to
 the call and offered the warrior dad [food prepared from Brazil
 nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caro-Pinibê had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemon.

70

At dawn of the following day, Carr-Finell said to the maiden:
"You will give birth to beings who will annul the sentence
of your tribe. Do not kill them."

And he vanished.

Great indeed was the sorrow, repentance and indignation in
Necodemus when Iachem gave birth to a pair of dogs.

Iachem's brothers and her own mother were the first to
protest against her the sentence of death.

But when the executioners approached to kill Iachem and
her newborn babes, she fled with an orn bird into the woods,
searching in her wondering soul the fruit of her mysterious love.

Wandering through the forest, Iachem finally stopped, en-
ticed, by the source of a clear brook.

But it was not long till the young mother beheld already
grown the children she had nursed with such difficulty, warning
them at night against her fiery home.

Finally she saw them crossing the woods and the fields
hunting and bringing back innumerable birds and partridges, and that
Iachem lived in the midst of plenty. (M)

At night her children made formidable guards, and they
watched over her unceasingly. Even the jaguar kept fearfully away.

One day, Iachem went to Necodemus and recounted these
marvels.

She knew well that if the warriors of Necodemus did not re-
voke the death sentence, she alone would die; her children would
easily elude the executioners.

But if the sentence were to be revoked, the Mandaraca would
become the masters of the forests and the plains; they would van-
quish all other tribes; their rule would go unchallenged.

The children of Iachem were received amid general ap-
plause; the whole tribe acknowledged them as their own.

231

And indeed the Mandaraca treat the dog as their own off-
spring; the women suckle newborn pups at their own breast and
shelter them in their hammocks with the children as if they had
been born of the same womb.

When a dog dies it is copiously mourned and its body care-
fully buried, for it would be considered impious to abandon it to
the vultures.

Early names of the Manducara -- Historical records

The Manducara villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajós, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drums of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio do Titi Branco. (35)

In his *Geographia Brasílica* of 1817, Ayres de Casal divided the province of Pará into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajós, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Manducara preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Manducarania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajós, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Manducarania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maia, the Fama, the Paracatu, the Mura, the Andia, the Acara, and the Manducara after whom the country was named.

"The Manducara," Ayres de Casal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cut,' owing to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched hats with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Manducara bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

69
648 "The inferiority of those who still roam the jungle, un-
hindered as they are by considerations of sex or of age, have
forced large numbers of the other tribes to take refuge [82] in the
shadow of Christian settlements where they can live peacefully,
safe from their heathen enemies.

"The bold Mandurucu are posterity of the Macanor of Colima,
who are reputed to be the most valiant people of the great eastern
archipelago."

VIII

Present location of the central plain villages --
Disappearance of the bands from the valley of
the Tapajoz

69
649 Yet this vast savage population, which according to Ayres
de Casal still roamed the territory of Mandurucania sixty years
ago, no longer wanders through those parts.

On the Lower Tapajoz there are christianized Indians who
are descendants of the savages of old. On the Upper Tapajoz there
is only the Maaf maloca which goes by the name of Acael and
another maloca of Apiac Indians, both of which maintain petty
trade relations with the few frontiersmen who penetrate that far.
In addition to these two malocas, bands of Parintintin occasionally
visit the banks of the Tapajoz and its tributaries; but they do not
settle anywhere, for the Mandurucu pursue them implacably and
relentlessly.

It should be noted that in earlier times the Maaf and the
Apiac were also often pursued and beaten by the Mandurucu, who
only left them alone after those two tribes had established relations
with the Christian. The Maaf no longer paint their faces; the
Apiac only retain a blue-black line which runs down from the
outer corner of the eye to the chin and strongly resembles a tear
streak. [93]

69
650 It should also be noted that the central Mandurucu villages,
known on the Upper Tapajoz as malocas das campinas [villages of

- [3] the plains are not located in the district which Ayres de Cással termed Mundurucaria. They extend in the territory which the geographer called Tapajaria, between the Tapajós and the Xingu and close to the sources of the common tributaries of the Tapajós, namely the Calvo, Cabomutu, and Caruru rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pissari) and the Rio do Corpeú.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Calvo and tributaries of the Tapajós.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Macodemas a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging peace -- End of these wars.

- 727 We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes; the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son!"

- [64] The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin; in addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [64] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent attacks.

- 721 Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

721 tale, probably inaccurate, that whenever one of them is captured by the Parintintin he is devoured alive by the mouthful, "as if they were jaguars and we were deer."

Inaccurate or not, this tale serves to fire even more the Mundurucu desire for vengeance.

726 Those wars to which we have referred are usually mere forays. When summer comes, a number of Mundurucu get together, make ready their bows, arrows, horns and provisions, and then set off.

Whenever possible, each warrior is accompanied by his wife or by a sister. The role of this sutler, who sometimes is no older than fifteen or sixteen, consists of slinging the warrior's hammock on a tree, preparing his chestnuts, carrying the load, and helping to prepare the enemy head and to bring in the captives; in short, she does whatever is needed to leave him entirely free for the attack.

They go hunting leisurely along the way, and these raids last for weeks and even months. At night they all gather and camp together.

If they find some trail in the depths of the woods, or some other sign pointing to the passage of a human being, they study it with rare prudence and subtlety. If they spy a hut or a village, they make a reconnaissance [95] in the greatest possible silence; and they walk so adroitly that not even the dry leaf they crush underfoot can be heard. It is as though they walked on a thick rug. They surround the hut and silently wait for dawn. Then they set it ablaze with a long staff, its end covered with flaming pitch, and post themselves in ambush near the door.

Suddenly awakened, the besieged occupants immediately let out the terrible cry, "Mundurucu!"

Those confused men who attempt to break through the ring of besiegers are immediately pierced with enormous spears.

The children, aware that they are at the mercy of the enemy, give themselves up.

The women nearly always offer resistance, put up a fight, and are made prisoners only by sheer force.

727 And then the Mundurucu retreat on the double. The enemy heads are cut off and hastily prepared. They travel day and night

727 when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
[373] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous
wood which they call ouichique-taque, and which the Indians of
the Lower Tapajoz know by the name of pau candeia [(Port.)
"lamp wood"). This wood, when dry, catches fire easily: it
blazes brightly when carried on the run.

726 Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
[262] Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than
manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations;
some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every
year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting
Tapajoz tribe which gave the river its name and which is now ex-
tinct, told me that more than once, during her youth [96] the
Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower
Tapajoz, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extant, cutting
enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once
reached the mouth of the Tapajoz, and besieged the fort built by
the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajoz village which is now the
site of the flourishing city of Santarém.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the
Mundurucu fight and who wander through
the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward
the borders of Mato-Grosso.

648 The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen bands
in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there
[60] runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call
Canintunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the
major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest
to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely
unknown.

M
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B
101

In 1842 the Crown Prince of Prussia, Adalbert, accompanied by Count Oriolo and Count von Bismarck, set out from Belém in a canoe up the Lower Xingu as far as the first waterfalls and the malocas of the Juruna Indians. Those gentlemen, I believe, provided the first rough outline of the course of the Lower Xingu.

The upper course of the river, however, remains unknown to this day.

The Mundurucu often move from the valley of the [97] Upper Tapajoz to that of the Upper Xingu, for they reside nearly on the dividing line between the two. They can thus provide information about the heathens they meet in the course of their journeys, not only along the banks of the Upper Xingu but also toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

The major groups are as follows:

Puparurûte -- They are distinguished by a dark line which runs from the outer corner of each eye down to the chin, and which resembles a tear streak. About three years ago, some five hundred savages marked in this way appeared on the banks of the Lower Tocantins near the falls; they were later decimated by smallpox, but those who survived still live there.

Biche-Irameran -- Their lower lip alone is painted black.

Ipitiuâte -- They are not painted; they shave their head all around; they are corpulent, bearded, fierce, feared even by the Mundurucu; they do not use hammocks but sleep on mats, and make use of formidable warclubs.

Pararaoâte -- They have canoes and paint a snail-like design on their temples.

Uiraraoâte -- The Mundurucu call them "the jaguar tribe" and say they scream like that animal.

Peren-an-an.

Parinrinrin.

Titidhuâte.

Jurupua. -- Corpulent and fierce.

Tupaiuna -- They paint themselves black.

Paribitat -- They live on the plains toward Cuiabá.

Paribitête -- They inhabit the headwaters of the Dom [São]

Manuel River, a tributary of the Tapajoz.

M
648
B
10/ In former times the Mundurucu also fought the Bacafri, whom they call [98] "Mureufuâte," and forced them to move to Mato-Grosso where they were resettled.

They fought the Apiacá, and only left them alone when the latter settled on the Juruena River, at the foot of the Salto-Augusto Falls. Even today they are very much afraid of the Mundurucu, and when the latter pass through the Apiacá malocas on their way to war, the occupants furnish them with cassava and other supplies.

Itiuâte -- They have already withdrawn toward Cuiabá. They are bearded.

Tuparurûte -- They live toward the Xingu.

Nhauanhen -- This band belongs to the Parintintin tribe, and lives by the falls of the Jauanxin River, a tributary of the Tapajoz.

The Mundurucu of Necodemos know Cuiabá; but they say that many bands of fierce heathens roam those parts.

In the course of their journeys they meet yet other bands of savages whose names they do not know.

It may be assumed that part of the native populations that disappeared from the banks of the Tapajoz and of the Tocantins may now roam the valley of the Upper Xingu.

It might prove of scientific interest to study the movements of these unknown savage populations.

XI

There appears in the malocas an elegantly dressed Mundurucu who claims to have been baptized in Rio de Janeiro.

M
123 It was only natural that I should invite the Mundurucu to come and share with us the advantages of life in society, and especially to [99] send us their children so they might be properly educated and return to the malocas knowing how to build houses and make bows, ovens and other things that would prove of great usefulness.

123 I was seeking through every means to convince them that they would find dedicated friends among us, when they replied that Teiu Burubê had told them H. M. the Emperor was a friend of the Mundurucu.

159 Teiu Burubê was a Mundurucu who had left the villages many years previously, and returned after a long absence. He presented himself in the maloca of Cabroá elegantly dressed after our fashion. His kinsmen greeted him with delight.

Then he told them that he had been baptized in Rio de Janeiro, that he had taken the name of Martinho de Alcantara, and that H. M. the Emperor had served as his godfather and patron. He found in the maloca of Cabroá various relatives, and in particular a sister who treated him with great devotion. When he had left his native village, at a very young age, he had been accompanied by a brother, and together they had traveled down the Canumã River.

This Mundurucu painted a vivid image of the advantages of civilized life, without moving his kinsmen to renounce their savage existence.

Eventually the change in his way of life made him ill, and he came down with violent fevers.

It was said in the maloca that his elegant clothes had cast an evil spell upon him, so his sister angrily gathered them on the village grounds and set them ablaze.

As he recovered from his illness he met even greater distress, for now he was naked.

He finally died; his sister, who had not forsaken him for an instant, buried him under her own hammock. [100]

XII

Population of the central Mundurucu malocas.

161 It is very difficult, indeed impossible, to furnish an exact
361 census of these Indians, living as they do in malocas situated in inaccessible stretches of bush country.

161 Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of
 [321] families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the
 312] woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant
 game.

161 It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and
 187 most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny
 hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has
 long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas,
 located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same
 boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

115 In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict
 census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the
 town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this
 matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy
 tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the
 Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros,
 President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this
 function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the cen-
 tral villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the
 Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

621 Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim
 161 Caetano Corrêa.
 103

NAME OF THE MALOCAS

POPULATION

Dauapone	1,500
Carucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aiká (Samuuma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucrê	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipsananti	600

621	Cererepca	500
161	Cabros	500
103	Imburariri	350
	Macapa	360
	Ucuberi	250
	Cabetutum	350
	Chacorão	700
	Airi	300
	Bacabal (Mission)	500
	Boburé	100
	Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and [797] Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu
malocas.

361 Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

342 In the center of the maloca stands the ekca or warriors' quarters.

361 The ekca consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
 361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes,
 which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest
 or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate
 freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is
 quite intense. The ekca is only for sound men, warriors, and
 342 their sons over eight years of age.

513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases in-
 side the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows
 of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their
 hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hang-
 ing from the roof of the ekca above his hammock -- bows, arrows,
 warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
 513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
 248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekca, many fires burn at night amid the warriors'
 hammocks.

342 Around the ekca stand the houses of the women, which also
 361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the
 sick.

In Necodemus these houses are five in number, quite large,
 built with greater care [than the ekca], higher and completely en-
 closed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There
 are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether com-
 munal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old
 men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
 352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their imple-
 ments, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
 354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they con-
 sist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on
 other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
 352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
 [562] never set foot in the ekca. It is in the women's houses that the
 more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments,
 necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

461 Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those
352 houses, I always found the women working: some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

262 They never failed to offer me something to eat: now
574 cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

[386] A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cantagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Areu-crê between Acupari and Necodemos.

172 On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known
532 as Cantagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages untold: the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, especially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

172

[171]

I shall offer no conjectures as to the origin or meaning of these characters. I shall only point out that Humboldt found characters of the same type similarly located on the banks of the Orinoco [105] at a height inaccessible to human hands.

If I remember correctly, this famous scholar is of the opinion that in remote times the level of Orinoco waters rose to a much greater height than today.

I believe that the same deductions reached by the famous German scholar about the Orinoco would apply to the characters of the Upper Tapajoz.

I made a sketch of the characters on the Upper Tapajoz; I do not know whether they are symbolic.

When I showed them to the Mundurucu of Necodemos and Samuuma (Aiká), they all told me that similar characters are to be found in greater numbers on the hills of Areucrê, in the midst of the plains which stretch between Acupari and Necodemos. I had no opportunity to see them.

173

Mundurucu tradition holds that Caru-Sacaebê, after destroying the maloca of Acupari to punish its inhabitants for their ingratitude, went on to found Necodemos, which thus became the cradle of the human race. It was then, according to the same tradition, that he drew those characters between the two villages, as a monument to recall this memorable event. When Caru-Sacaebê left Necodemos, which had become wealthy and powerful, he went down the Tapajoz River and left some further characters on its banks to preserve more vividly among the Mundurucu the memory of his deeds and of his stay among them. [107]

XV

The Mundurucu pronounce sentence of death against sorcerers. -- Some of the more recent applications of this sentence.

174

As late as the beginning of this [19th] century, Portuguese law burned alive in public squares those unfortunate victims accused of being sorcerers by the credulity and superstition of the

700 time. Many other peoples, if not all, have afforded posterity the sad spectacle of this aberration of human reason.

683 The Mundurucu hold fast to this fatal error: the sorcerer among them is irrevocably sentenced to death, but this is the only instance when capital punishment is applied.

747 The missionary from Bacabal, Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva, 683 relates the following case in the Report he submitted to the President of Pará on the fourteenth of August, 1876:

"First of all, Your Excellency must know that one of my greatest concerns, during my five years of office in this Mission, has been to blot out from the Indians' heads some stubborn superstitions, especially those which stood most directly opposed to religion and to the well-being of society.

"Now, one of the strongest superstitions I had to battle was that of witchcraft.

"All I did not say, all I did not do, to wrench from their hearts this evil superstition! And how many deaths were not caused by those mistaken beliefs before the Mission was founded! However, when I already believed that I had persuaded them to loathe this abominable sin, lo and behold [108] one day when the missionary was not there they reverted to the same practices.

"Your Excellency is aware that last year I came to the capital [of Pará] to attend to some affairs of the Mission. Well, while I was away, several people in the Mission sickened and died.

"And some of the Indians began to cry: 'It is witchcraft! It is witchcraft!'

"We must kill the sorcerers. They want to kill us all: we must kill them! They selected four young men of the Mission to be sacrificed as sorcerers. They were able to find one of them, by the name of Ismael; the others, warned in time, fled and came back to the Mission after my return.

"The young man was killed with two gunshots, and finished off with blows on the head.

"The executioners were Silvano da Silva and another boy (now dead).

"The commander was Capt. José da Gama who, around noon of the day when he gave orders to kill Ismael (who lived on

683 the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of
797 the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: "These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!" But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

[622] This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajoz and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfall with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

693 Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a
[422] brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head
[415] a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companions tarried a moment and

633 involuntarily glanced at the lamentable sight; but the executioners told them: "Keep going, she is a witch."

The body of the girl remained lying on the path all day. On the morrow they threw it on a fire and reduced it to ashes.

Another episode: On the bank of the Tapajoz, [110] in the house of a frontiersman, lives a Mundurucu girl, all painted, and about twenty years old; she is pagan, but owns the Christian name of Sebastiana; she already speaks a little Portuguese and she is very outgoing. She says that her family used to live in the village of Curucupí. Some dangerous fevers came to rage there, and several people died.

It so happened that her mother took it upon herself to treat some of the sick.

One day, as the old Indian woman returned from her work in the fields, an intimate friend of hers told her in secrecy: "Look out; your patient died; it is already rumored that you are a witch." Without losing time, the woman makes a decision with her husband's agreement. They leave the village the same night, taking with them two young daughters and a young son. And indeed, while they fled, the barking of the executioners' dogs followed them all through the night and the following day.

This poor family, after several days of steady marching through the forest, finally came out onto the banks of the Tapajoz and never returned to Curucupí or to any other maloca.

Sebastiana says that the prime mover of the plot aiming at her mother's death now lives in the Mission of Bacabal.

This same girl told me of another case, no less sad, which occurred at the time of the same outbreak of fevers. A few days before the family's flight, this girl and a few others had arrived in Acupari from a neighboring village. That afternoon, they still ate together on the grounds of the house. Around dawn, however, she was rudely awakened by a scream of despair and agony which rose nearby. Immediately afterwards two Mundurucu passed by her hammock, nearly dragging behind them [111] the body of her companion, into whose breast they had thrust the sharp blade of a spear; they had rounded off this horrendous sacrifice by strangling the unfortunate victim in her own hammock. The body,

683 nude and bloody, was found in the middle of the grounds at day-break, and these remained exposed until evening. All passed by it in silence and without a complaint.

There are many other such cases, for unfortunately executions on account of witchcraft are still frequent. It is said that in those times when Caru-Sacaebê lived among the Mundurucu, there existed no witchcraft and no sorcerers.

Indeed, the criminal code of the Mundurucu is based exclusively upon this.

57 There is no record of one Mundurucu ever being killed by another except on account of witchcraft. When violent hatred erupts between two Indians who inhabit the same village -- and 152 this is extremely rare -- one of the two merely takes down his hammock, goes to some other village which attracts his fancy, chooses a place in the elica, and remains there as long as he pleases.

XVI

Social feelings among the Mundurucu -- The family -- The characteristic painting pattern of the tribe.

69 A remarkably strong social spirit, or indeed national spirit, binds the individual members and the villages of this tribe, preserving, if I may say so, the autonomy of the Mundurucu republic in a wilderness which lies beyond the contact and influence of our civilization. [112]

000 It is no cause for wonder that the Quechua of the Andes, herding as they did vast flocks of llama and alpaca and cultivating in large quantities the potato native to their mountains, should have founded great population centers and established a powerful monarchy. An agricultural and pastoral people, they possessed those elements necessary to live in the midst of plenty and to develop their intellectual and moral qualities under the stimulus of life in society.

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221 But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of these families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadetiri.

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262
269 In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly united although divided into twenty villages.

It is true that the villages owe allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

585 Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

534 Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

[95] The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

82 The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the elcã or warriors' quarters.

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941 Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

152
913 I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I believe that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

687 The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband appeared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

185
973 Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are extremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

649 When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

322 Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

531 On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattooing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[305] Then the painter traces the design on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[306] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebé.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs -- Burial customs.

[307] The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

[308] They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coaru and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come, [116]

[805]
824

They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.

They call the moon caxiate.

The full moon, caxi-tupambon-pimau.

The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.

The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hian.

Day, cabiá; night, ximan.

[805]

To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacutá.

The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadirá.

The morning star, cabiara.

The Southern Cross, chenchenta (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

823

They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

775

When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, blumbê, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an eká large enough to hold them all.

[801]

Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapirera to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin tapirera."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

[72]

Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu.

764

When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

764 This is the squatting position which was also used by the
 115 Quechua and the Egyptians. [The Mundurucu] bury with the de-
 141 ceased a few objects he had used in life, such as weapons, feather
 ornaments, etc. My interpreter was an intelligent Indian and
 spoke, besides his Mundurucu dialect, the Portuguese and Tupi
 tongues. He would translate without hesitation into Mundurucu
 the following sentences: "I miss my mother -- Nheben uxi cahi" "
 "I miss my son -- Nhebên opute cahi." The word nehbên means
 "to miss." "My soul goes to heaven -- Ubiambê cahi cahi dhê."

500 This knowledge of the heavenly bodies, though still quite
 rudimentary; these beliefs in a future life, free from odious
 superstitions; this faculty to conceive and express abstract ideas
 and the purest and sweetest feelings of the human heart, such as
 nostalgia for mother or son -- all this surprised me on the part
 of a people that has always been considered one of the fiercest
 and most barbarous in the valley of the Amazon.

619 If the Mundurucu did not derive their beliefs and knowledge
 from some of the civilized groups on the Andean Plateau, I pre-
 sume at least that for centuries they must have lived as the in-
 habitants of the plains villages do today -- that is, in centers as
 densely populated as [118] a savage economy based on hunting
 and the meager resources of a crude husbandry will permit. These
 villages are in constant communication with each other and pre-
 serve the same uses and customs. As I mentioned above, the
 [304] Mundurucu tattooing pattern is really a blood initiation which
 stamps them with an indelible mark -- a sacred tie binding in
 brotherly communion all the members of this numerous and power-
 ful tribe.

500 I will, however, abstain from drawing any conclusions what-
 ever. My purpose is to observe facts with scrupulous care and to
 describe them with fidelity.

It may be that the light sketch I am tracing of the life of
 a savage tribe will be pondered by one of those superior minds
 who cogitate on human destiny and on the problems of mankind.

Theirs is the task to plumb the mysteries of Providence, to
 search for the beginnings of man's journeys on this earth, for the
 paths he has followed and the destinies that await him.

XVIII

Means of subsistence of the Mundurucu -- Hunting -- Cultivated Plants -- Wild Fruits.

224 The Mundurucu, living as they do among vast plains and virgin forests, being skillful hunters and possessing excellent hounds, owe their subsistence largely to hunting.

241 They also practice some husbandry which, though still quite rudimentary, is of considerable help to them. [119]

Many wild fruits also grow in the region, some of them excellent.

I will not enumerate all the various kinds of game which are to be found in those parts, where tapir, deer, wild pig, mutum [?] and the inhambu and jacamin birds occur in such abundance. I will, however, provide below a list of all the plants cultivated by the Mundurucu, and another of the wild fruits, with the corresponding names in their own language:

Cultivated Plants

241 824	[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
	manioc	<u>mocetá</u>
	sweet manioc	<u>mocepean</u>
	large white yam	<u>puerá erechache</u>
	large purple yam	<u>puerá aniucate</u>
	small white yam	<u>suairá</u>
	small purple yam	<u>anauera aniucate</u>
	sweet potato	<u>uixá</u>
	pineapple	<u>para-ã</u>
	papaya	<u>ação-ã</u>
	pepper	<u>aium-ã</u>
	sugar cane	<u>canipec</u>
	timbó liana	<u>comopi</u>
	cotton	<u>bruun-ã</u>
	maize	<u>muirará</u>

<u>24/</u> <u>824</u> [English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	<u>Mundurucu Name</u>
large bean	<u>ueitei</u>
banana	<u>acouba</u>
S. Tomé banana	<u>acoreqempá</u>
large taja	<u>pan-an-uan</u>
<u>maniqueira</u>	<u>mocera</u>
reed	<u>bepa</u>
<u>jamaru</u> (gourd)	<u>uiaia</u>

[120]

Wild FruitsFruits of the forest and brush

222

824

137

Pará chestnut [Brazil nut]

assaímuriti [fruit of that palm]bacabapatauauxipequiaabio

forest caju

maracock? [passion fruit]

bacuri-pari

sage

araticumocajaanajacopu-ahipajuracumai ([Port.] solvashinha [small
sage])massaranduba

forest cacao

jutai or jatubacopu-assuhennainoaporemeinherepeáharuruxêuadhutaruaxaaanacareahereceramaracuiáuaremeçautuabocubocuuacuriáuaritaiaacarapácobican-aiubaácirara-âuadherá

[sic]

acarapá

Fruits of the Fields

222
824 jaboticaba
137 mangaba
field caju
axiua
muruci
marmelada
field araticu
pineapple

jubã
unhua
hacerácarã
eten-ã
quenhen-ã
hera-ã
bocubocu baru
iparã

252
137 Dañ is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared with Parã chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Parã yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

252 To prepare dañ, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, dañ keeps for a long time.

262 They also make another kind of dañ from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; pataua; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

261 They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, dañ, etc.

251 They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

XIX

Plants cultivated in Mundurucu villages (1)

241
137

1. I owe this technical outline to the courteous collaboration of Dr. Lourenço José Ribeiro da Cruz Rangel, distinguished botanist from the National Museum [Rio].

manioc	<u>Manihot utilisima</u> , Linn. ; euphorbiacea fam.
sweet manioc [122]	<u>Manihot aypim</u> ; euphorbiacea fam.
large white yam	<u>Dioscorea bulbifera</u> , <u>dioscorea sativa</u> , Linn. <u>Dioscorea</u> fam. There are many different yam species, such as: <u>Dioscorea dodecaneura</u> , Vall. ; <u>Dioscorea hyperi folia</u> , Velloso; <u>Dioscorea tribola</u> , Vil. ; <u>Dioscorea brasiliensis</u> ; etc., etc.
large purple yam	
small white yam	
small purple yam	
watermelon	<u>Cucurbita citrullus</u> , Linn. ; cucurbitacea fam.
<u>jerimu</u>	<u>Cucurbita maxima</u> , D.C. ; cucurbitacea fam.
sweet potato	<u>Convolvulus edulis</u> ; convolvulacea fam.
pineapple	<u>Bromelia ananas</u> , Linn. ; bromeliacea fam.
papaya	<u>Caryca papaya</u> , Linn. ; papayacea fam.
pepper	Many fruits belonging to different families and genera go by the name of pepper; but the Indians know best and use most the Indian pepper, <u>Capsicum pendulum</u> , Velloso; solanacea fam.
sugar cane	<u>Saccharum officinarum</u> , Linn. ; graminacea fam.
timbó	The timbó liana, also known as <u>cururu-apé</u> , is <u>Paulinia pinnata</u> ; and the Rio de Janeiro timbó is <u>Physalis heterophylla</u> .

241
137

cotton

maize

large bean

banana

S. Tomé banana
large tajá

reeds

calabashes

Beside these, the Serjania genus also subsumes some poisonous varieties that go by the name of timbó, such as S. caracasana, S. clematidifolia and S. lethalis--especially the latter as its name indicates.

Gossypium herbaceum, Lamarke; malvacea fam.

Zea mais, Linn.; graminacea fam.

Bean, Vicia sativa, Linn.; leguminosa fam.

There are many bean species, nearly all of which belong to the Phaseolus genus; leguminosa fam.

Prata banana, Musa argentea; plaintain, Musa sapientum; dwarf banana, Hexandria mouoecia, Linn. These are all of the musacea family.

Musa paradisiaca, Linn.; musacea fam.

Caladium esculentum, Linn.; aroidea fam.

The reeds used by the Indians to make arrows belong to the wild cane,

Anthoxanthium gigans; graminacea fam.

Calabash, Cucurbita lagenaria, Linn.; Cucurbita leucahles, Duch.; genera of cucurbitacea family. The term "calabash" is used to designate various species of the genus Cucurbita, cucurbitacea family, some of which are edible and others poisonous.

[124]

Uncultivated Fruits Native to the Region
Fruits of the Fields

137

324

mangabaHancornea pubescens, Martius; apocinea fam.jaboticabaMyrtus cauliflora, Martius; myrtacea fam.field cajuAnacardium humile? Martius;
therebentinacea fam.axina

[sic]

muruxiByrsonima serieea.marmelada

The people of Sergipe thus call the fruit of a wild shrub, which looks somewhat like the genipap and is of a dark purplish hue; it is edible, and considered to be a kind of quince native to [the province of] Alagoas. Cydonia?; rosacea fam.

field ariticuAnona cornifolia, St. Hilaire; anonacea fam.ananyLeopoldina imperialis cucurbitacea fam.

Fruits of the forest and brush

chestnut

Pará or Maranhão chestnut, Bertholletia excelsa, Humb. and Bomp. ; myrtacea fam.assahyEuterpe edulis, Martius; palmtree fam.muritiMauritia vinifera, Linn. ; palmtree fam.bacabaOenocarpus baccaba, Martius; palmtree fam.

[125]

patauaOenocarpus?; palmtree fam.uxiUxi umbrossimus; crosobolanea fam.pequiaPequiá, coffee or wild coffee, Casearia foetida; samydea fam.apioLabatia reticulata, Martius; sapotacea fam.

137

824 forest caju

maracock? [passion
fruit]bacuru-pari

sage

ariticumocajaanaja or majacupu-assucupu-aipajuracumatimassaranduba

[126]

forest cacao

jotobaConsidered to belong to the Cassuvium
genus; therebentinacea fam.Passiflora maliformis, Linn. and Wild;
passifloracea fam.Platonia insignis, Martius; canellacea
fam.Lippia citrata, Schelt; verbenacea fam.Brazil sage, Salvia fulgens, Cav.

Mahl.; labiacea fam. Forest sage,

Hurrieria salsaparrilha.Anona silvatica, St. Hilaire; anonacea
fam.Known in Rio de Janeiro as "catarrhal
coconut;" Acrocomia sclerocarpa,
Martius; palmtree fam.

Palmtree fam.

Deltonea luctea; malvacea fam.

Leguminosa fam.

Laurinea fam.

Psidium albidum, St. Hilaire; myrtacea
fam.Achras paraensis; Massaranduba
emarginata, Lacerda; sapotacea fam.Cacaò, Theobroma cacao, Linn.;
buthneriaceae fam. Wild cacaò,
Theobroma guianensis, Wild;
buthneriaceae fam.Hymenoea stibocarpa, Haine and
Martius; Hymeneae courbaril, Linn.;
leguminosa fam.

XX

The Mundurucu language

192

We shall now list some phrases and words from the Mundurucu language.

<u>[English]</u>	<u>Tupi</u>	<u>Mundurucu</u>
Good afternoon	<u>ianê caruca</u>	<u>oui caxitengue</u>
good morning	<u>ianê eoema</u>	<u>cabia</u>
so long [<u>até a volta</u>]	<u>acuri cha iuera</u>	<u>repite bimé</u>
	<u>ramé</u>	
goodnight	<u>ianê pitúna</u>	<u>iaicate</u>
how are you?	<u>catu meri sérá?</u>	<u>chi pateene?</u>
I am well	<u>catu teên</u>	<u>une chipate</u>

<u>[English]</u>	<u>Mundurucu</u>
sun	<u>coxi</u>
moon	<u>caxiate</u>
man	<u>anhocate</u>
woman	<u>aiariate</u>
day	<u>cabia</u>
night	<u>ximán</u>
star	<u>taçêpetá</u>
rain	<u>mambaûte</u>
thunder	<u>beru-xixi</u>
sky or heavenly regions	<u>cabi</u>
cloud	<u>cabi crereate</u>
water	<u>iribi</u>
boy	<u>berechata</u>
Let us eat	<u>nhachecon</u>
wart	<u>querêra</u>
nose	<u>ueramboque</u>
tooth	<u>ueirei</u>
eye	<u>uetá</u>
tongue	<u>ueicu</u>

[English]Mundurucu

192 mouth
 face
 head
 ear
 leg
 foot
 arm
 nail [finger or toe]
 [127]
 beard
 hair
 hand
 finger
 eyebrows
 toe
 breast [chest]
 abdomen
 navel
 throat
 neck
 mole [spot]
 arm-pit
 nostril
 hammock
 I
 you
 he
 they [masc.]
 friend
 older brother
 younger brother
 sister

ueibi-xéc [?]
ueirupá
uiaã
oenhembõe
uirau
uei
uiba
ueinrã

uibirape
uiarape
uebaraná
ueibê
ueitá embite
uei
ueicameta
uêiecca
uêrampeá
uecumbirá
uanhembé
ueixiquetique
ueinhembi
uiabingta
caran
une
ene
inhdhe
inhdheanhe
ubeixi
uamu
ocouto
uêixite

192

[English]

Mundurucu

193

to give--unheme

I give
you give
he gives
they [masc.] give

une unheme
ene unheme
inhedhe-ate unheme
inhedianhe unheme

to be a man--anhocate dhê

I am a man
you are a man
he is a man
they are men

une dhê anhocate
ene dhê [sic] anhocate
inhe dhê anhocate
inhedianhe anhocate

to eat--uchecune

I eat
you eat
he eats
they [masc.] eat
[128]

une uchecune
ene edhu
inhedhêê udhu
inhedianhe udhu

[English]

Mundurucu

I'm coming [eu já vou]
regards to yourself [?]
[lembranças para ti mesmo]
all Mundurucu are kinsmen

udhebeque
ecatu dhe euê bê
Mundurucus [sic] nheên dhiu
anhum umain

my soul goes to heaven
I miss my mother
I miss my son
I am your friend
I shall not see you again

ubiumbê cabi cahi dhe
nheben nexi cahi
nheben opute cahi
une ubei xixi
nhan sên ehuame dheí une

197

The following table will facilitate comparison of the
Mundurucu dialect with the three principal American languages:
[129]

COMPARATIVE OUTLINE

[English]	Quechua	Aymara	Tupí	Mundurucu
man	<u>runa</u>	<u>hake</u>	<u>apgaua</u>	<u>anhocate</u>
woman	<u>huarmi</u>	<u>marmi</u>	<u>cunhã</u>	<u>aiatiare</u>
head	<u>uma</u>	<u>ppekeña</u>	<u>akanga</u>	<u>uiaâ</u>
face	<u>ceaklla</u>	<u>Nauna</u>	<u>rua or cúa</u>	<u>ueirupã</u>
eye	<u>nahui</u>	<u>nayra</u>	<u>tecã</u>	<u>uetã</u>
ear	<u>rinri</u>	<u>inchu</u>	<u>apiçagua</u>	<u>oenhembõe</u>
hand	<u>maki</u>	<u>ampara</u>	<u>mbõ</u>	<u>ubaranã</u>
sun	<u>inti</u>	<u>inti</u>	<u>guaraci</u>	<u>caxi</u>
moon	<u>killã</u>	<u>phakhi</u>	<u>jacy</u>	<u>caxi-âte</u>
I	<u>noca</u>	<u>na</u>	<u>ixé or xé</u>	<u>une</u>
water	<u>jacu</u>	<u>uma</u>	<u>y</u>	<u>iribi</u>
he	<u>pay</u>	<u>hupa</u>	<u>ahé</u>	<u>inhendhe</u>
to eat	<u>micumi</u>	<u>mankatha</u>	<u>u</u>	<u>uchecne</u>

[130]

1: Tocantins--49 C-5 (1875)1877

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

197
171

XXI

Funerary honors for warriors who die in battle

766 When a Mundurucu happens to die in the course of one of their frequent wars, his comrades cut off his head and mummify it in the accustomed manner.

Upon their return to the village, they put it in a special place along with the weapons, horn and ornaments which belonged to the dead warrior.

This relic becomes the object of public veneration.

765 If a Mundurucu from a neighboring tribe happens to come by, he goes to see it and pays it the proper respects, weeping and lamenting its fate. In the native village, public honors are paid to the late warrior; the time is settled in advance and invitations are made to neighboring villages.

When the time comes the people get together; the head is laid in a sort of basket or hamper, which is placed across the laps of the widow, mother and sisters of the dead man.

The other women sit around them in a circle. Several torches of resinous wood blaze near the funerary basket.

The warriors, bedecked with ornaments and armed with bows and arrows, dance around the group, blowing their horns and playing other musical instruments.

Other groups of men do likewise inside the ekçam while some dance and sing around the house where the head receiving these funerary honors is located. All the while they pronounce in loud voices the following lament:

"Thou hast died, my kinsman, we shall avenge thee; this is the [131] purpose for which we are on this earth, each to avenge the other who dies in battle. Our foes are no braver and no more manly than we."

In Mundurucu it runs as follows:

[539] "Ftean ari ubaripeinhaçan eted ei ue-gne ari utiede aipanme
 idie ôpe te atedeiame rupanhô be tean anhem parui âte bê.
 Uterupanhon ibeixi ame utie de utedie ute beixi."

These funerary celebrations last for longer than one day.

765 They are held once a year for the first four years following the warrior's death.

On the fourth year, the celebration ends with the burial of the head; on this occasion, the women as well as the men address it with the following words:

765 "My brother (or my son), we have come here to bury thee.
539 Thou hast died; to this end wert thou born. Thou hast died in war, because thou wert brave; to this end did our mothers and fathers nurture us. We must not fear our foe. Whosoever dies in war dies with honor; it is not as death from illness. We have come from all the malocas to weep and dance to the end of thy burial."

The Mundurucu version runs as follows:

"Uanhum inhaçan utê sôte êcû tchâme. Iménhame ari utiê bai utiê mai pânme. Etêã nanhum utê rupanhum bê anhocate edîe. Imenhamê utiê xi utiê me pito utiê bai ari uê utiê ñebê anhocate epeçupeidie ipi bê utiê parará ama utiê rupanhum bê-xime. Rupanhum-bê tiê a âen anhocate edîe tutu uê-ê utiê rupanhum bê-ibê pame une pite idiotiê mã utiê pa-âme pai bêxime cauxi pibône. Idiôtiê utiêsote anhuncaxiri bêni caracuie cuiê âê uadime utê cabê ute racui axirau umãe iueipe idê utiê uenê pam utiê sote nhaçam achi-tutûne pre ibiman utiê diepite diei." [132]

At the same time, around the funerary basket, the women speak as from the dead man's mouth:

"My mother (or my wife), thou wilt die in bed of illness. I died in war because I was brave."

534 In the course of these ceremonies the shamans blow on a
784 special instrument: it is a kind of horn which they call caruquê.

[347] To this end the shaman hides in a small hut which is especially built for the purpose, and where the women are strictly forbidden to enter.

On the other hand, these superstitious women avoid the sight of that sacred and mysterious instrument in every possible way. They are convinced that were they to glance at the caruquê but for an instant, they would commit a sacrilege that would cause them misfortune for the rest of their lives.

765

Finally, a vertical grave is dug inside the dwelling of the warrior's family, and the head in whose honor the ceremonies took place is buried there.

XXII

Hunting, fishing, and agricultural celebrations

796

224

Each Mundurucu village also carries out every year at the start of winter a public ceremony which celebrates hunting and fishing on alternate years.

To this end the village elects a ceremonial leader who is chosen among the most reputed warriors and who must also be a good singer. [133]

They accumulate beforehand ample quantities of game, beiju (a kind of manioc bread), sweet potatoes, and other food-stuffs.

The women paint themselves with genipap, urucu, and other highly effective colors.

Men and women, adorned with feather ornaments and necklaces of enemy teeth, assemble in groups wherever they please and begin to make music, to dance and to sing.

They gather the skulls of tapir, deer, and other species of game or fish, and offer them the best delicacies -- daô, taruba, maniqueira, and other foods.

At midnight the shaman retires to a special room, beyond the reach of unhallowed glances. There, in the midst of absolute darkness, he first calls in loud voices upon the tapir's "mother," if the ceremony is in celebration of hunting.

After a while, those who surround the mysterious hut hear within it the sharp scream of the tapir.

[325]

It is the shaman imitating the cry of this animal to notify his audience that the spirit has answered his call and has come down to the hut.

There ensues a lively debate in loud voices between the tapir's "mother" and the shaman. He requests her to favor the

732 village hunters during the coming year, by sweeping over children
224 close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

736 In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary
224 deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called *ken*; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

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539 "Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu rum as follows:

"Mucêipixi eirê berê bereme u tiedê imenedê diê chipanme mucê ôe aipanem itabungue diêe taraibote ama epôtepôte diêe imenedê tutu utê-die araiarai utêcôpe ixi abime pame enatu abime eirê berereme bate que mēaipanhate utrê mon utie carô diêai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

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797 The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

source of violent complaints on the part of the leading citizens
717 of the Itaituba District.

To give an idea of the obstacles the Government must face in its great endeavor to christianize [135] the aboriginal tribes, I shall relate here the history of the Mission of Bacabal, which managed to gather together five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe, indubitably one of Brazil's principal aboriginal groups.

So that I may not be accused of bias, I shall transcribe textually certain documents written by the citizens of the district and by the missionary, which bring out the animosity between the two sides.

The leading cultivators and tradesmen of the Itaituba District sent a petition to the Legislative Assembly of the province of Pará on the first of March, 1874, complaining that the missionary of Bacabal did no more than monopolize the labor of the peaceable Indians on the banks of the Tapajoz, without troubling to christianize the savage bands of the central villages. ¶

This petition is here reproduced in full:

"To the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. --

At the end of the year 1871, the missionaries Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva and Fa. Antonino came to the Upper Tapajoz to found a mission in a location more easily accessible to the aboriginal tribes which still inhabit, in large numbers, the interior of the region. This event was lauded by all, for it would ensure the growth and flowering of this part of the Empire, which lacks manpower in its dwindling agriculture and in other areas that underlie and maintain our trade. The missionaries chose the spot named Bacabal, the seat of a very old settlement of Indians who were already civilized, working in agriculture and the extraction of rubber, lending their skillful knowledge of canoe navigation, and bartering the products of their husbandry. The missionaries, ill-informed and reckless, [136] listening as they did to tramps and adventurers, immediately declared war on the tradesmen, calling them all without exception thieves and scoundrels. They advised the Indians not to pay their debts because they owed nothing, and prevented them from lending their skill to the dangerous canoe trips along the falls, thus causing terrible damage in the years 1872 and 1873, such as the loss of

797 These facts were related to the Government in the columns of a newspaper published in the town of Santarém. Unhappily, it seems that the higher authorities have been deceived and do not believe the true accounts provided by the press. This evil waxes greater day by day, for the missionaries, protected as they are by a government that entertains the most laudable intentions toward the process of christianization, keep in Bacabal those Indians who resided there and suborn into their service many who were employed by the traders, as well as Negroes who led an irregular life. They put these people to tasks that benefit only the missionaries themselves, to singing hymns, and to performing other acts which decency demands to pass over in silence. The enclosed documents will make clear the behavior of these missionaries, who to this day have contributed nothing to the cause of christianization. This has already moved the Municipal Chamber of Itaituba to report to the Government the manner of behavior of these missionaries, which runs altogether counter to the ends of their mission and which to date has achieved no results whatever. -- The undersigned therefore request this illustrious body to recognize the growing evils which threaten the Upper Tapajoz, and to authorize the president of the province to send a delegation of competent men to investigate the facts and uncover the truth, so that measures may be taken to abolish the distress [137] which forces us to present this petition to the elected rulers of the people. Itaituba, March 1, 1874." (The signatures follow.)

The missionary father, on the other hand, does not bitterly indict all the citizens who signed the petition, but only those traders named regatores [hucksters] who yearly penetrate the Upper Tapajoz, carrying in small canoes a few articles to barter for rubber, sage, copaiba oil, and other natural products of the region.

In a letter dated January 20, 1876, the missionary Fa. Felino de Castrovalva relates the following events to the president of the province of Pará:

"It was on July 10 of last year that Mr. Tocantins visited this Mission; a few days after his departure I had to come to the capital, as Your Exc. knows, for reasons concerning the welfare of the Mission.

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797 "During my absence the public morality of the village was thoroughly disturbed by some illicit peddlers.

"These hucksters and their crews, having learned that the Mission was empty, made for the village one by one without delay and there committed excesses of robbery and licentiousness.

"According to their custom, they first intoxicated the Indians with cachaça [a kind of rum], thus depriving them of their reason, and then took from them everything they could -- manioc flour, ducks, chickens, etc. -- giving them in return nothing but the cachaça they could drink.

"They carried out public whoring day and night, in the harbor and in the houses; and, oh! Sir, in this respect they were truly [138] excessive! There was not one family of poor Indians whose dearest honor and decency they did not abuse horribly, and even the stones shed tears before such a clamor!

"The demoralization went so far that in their intoxicated state the Indians themselves copied the licentiousness of the hucksters, forgetting all they had learned and turning the Mission on those days into a veritable brothel!

"As a result of these unusual goings-on in the village during my absence, which lasted but 49 days, a notable retrogression took place.

"At that time also, ten Indians seized by some superstition (which possibly was also spread by strangers) kept saying that now that the missionary was gone the government had ordered them all to be killed, and that Mr. Tocantins had been sent here to this end; whereupon they fled into the depths of the woods.

"Others, numbering more than twenty, were deceived by the peddlers and left the village with them to help with the extraction of rubber.

"Several others contracted agreements with hucksters and rubber extractors, and were about to leave the Mission when I returned.

"Had the Mission remained abandoned a few days longer, it would have been completely destroyed.

"My unexpected return caused much perturbation among the Indians and much surprise to the enemy.

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"Thanks to Divine Providence, public order was restored. Those Indians who had been led away from the Mission were sought out, and soon I was able to bring them all back [139] into the fold. I redoubled the discipline in accordance with the regulations, forbidding sharp dealing strangers to stop at the Mission or to contract agreements with the Indians in my absence and without my permission.

"The protection which the Government has so justly and wisely granted to the Mission has caused the despair of its enemies; and now that they are perfectly aware of this, they are slowly giving up the whole scheme.

"Following my return to the Mission there occurred only one unfortunate event, as follows:

"One of the greatest deceivers of the Indians, one Boaventura Alves Pereira, a licentious man who deals in cachaça and for this reason has often been expelled from the Mission, came one night secretly to some Indians, between December 10 and 15 of last year, and invited them to come and trade with him at a nearby harbor. The Indians, though somewhat wary, consented and accompanied him. The usual episodes were repeated: everything took place, though with greater moderation.

"As soon as I became aware of his presence, I immediately sent out some Indians in military uniform (who form here a sort of detachment), ordering them to bring me the huckster so that I might take back from him what he had stolen from them. They went; but on sighting soldiers the huckster untied his canoe from the dock. As the corporal attempted to hold the canoe and seize him, the huckster threatened to kill him with his gun.

"The disappointed corporal and his comrades ran to get a canoe and set out after him; but in order to avoid a conflict I did not allow them to do so.

"I punished the chiefs of the guilty Indians; and the huckster being a repeated offender, I denounced him to the sub-delegate of Itaituba in accordance with mission regulations. [139]

"However, Sir, knowing the hostility which rules in Itaituba against the Mission, nothing is to be expected from those quarters. For this reason I turn to Your Exc. and request and beg

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that two individuals who are highly injurious to the development of the Mission be ordered out of its territory.

"I am certain that Your. Exc. will rid the Mission of this human plague by ordering them to be expelled five leagues beyond the boundaries of the district, in accordance with the pertinent regulation."

XXIV

The Mundurucu attack a band of Parintintin --
The Parintintin attack some inhabitants of the
Tapajoz river banks.

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Around that time, a band of Parintintin appeared on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Tapajoz, not far from the Mission.

These poor savages, far from being greeted by Christians and invited into the pale of labor and into life in society, met only with executioners.

Some adventurers, of the kind that comes to those parts in the summer months to extract rubber, lost no time in warning the Mundurucu of the neighboring village. The latter immediately set out, met the Parintintin, defeated them, killed a few, set the others to flight, and returned to the village with several women and child captives.

No wonder the Parintintin have never managed to settle in the valley of the Tapajoz, which they have roamed [141] incessantly for many years. But these barbarians, whose fate is a continuous state of alarm and dread -- pursued as they are into the deepest recesses of the forest and ever threatened with the forced abduction of their wives and children -- also nurture in their trembling hearts the thirst for vengeance.

Unable to strike at the enemy or at those frontiersmen who had joined the Mundurucu ranks in the wretched hope of obtaining a few Parintintin child captives, these barbarians nevertheless

[i.e., ca. January, 1876. - August 1876]

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648 attempted to express as they could the profound rancor this in-
726 famous slaughter had awakened in them.

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648 Here is how Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva described the
726 Parintintin attack on the house of some frontiersman neighbors of
the Mission, in a Report to the president of Pará dated August 14,
1876:

"The Parintintin -- another populous tribe that leads a
savage way of life, roaming the woods and maintaining a state
of continuous warfare with the Mundurucu -- would accept
civilization without delay if the Mundurucu were to be all
gathered together. Since the Mission was founded the Parintintin
have been less fiercely attacked by their foe, and as a result have
occasionally appeared around here in the course of their journeys.
They were seen at various points of the Tapajoz riverbanks, and
appeared last at the mouth of the Janachim River, a tributary of
the Tapajoz, at the beginning of last July.

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[337] "At that very spot three people lived in a small hut by the
[337] stream -- two men and a woman who had come from Itaituba
on the Upper Tapajoz to extract rubber. One day at the beginning
of last July, around five o'clock in the afternoon, they saw filing
through the woods by the hut a large band of savages -- naked,
[142] armed with bows and arrows, some of them adorned with
macaw feathers. The three alarmed individuals imprudently
trusted that the savages would proceed on their way and that nothing
would happen, as had sometimes proved to be the case else-
where when these Indians made an appearance.

"But it was not to be so: around six o'clock in the morning
of the following day, their house was surrounded by Parintintin who
screamed and howled like ferocious beasts as they attacked. The
three occupants defended themselves with firearms, and a close
battle ensued. The Parintintin chief was killed and many others
wounded; the two frontiersmen were severely wounded -- one of them
was hit by six arrows, some of which went right through him.

"In the midst of the battle the Parintintin ran out of arrows
and went to get some more from their women who waited a short
distance away. The two frontiersmen, taking advantage of this
short respite, took to flight; and the poor woman, who amid the
general alarm failed to accompany them, was captured by the

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648 savages. When the latter returned, they were furious on finding
726 the men gone, and they cut off her head with wooden knives and
[412] carried it with them, leaving behind the rest of the body, a large
[201] number of arrows thrust into the roof of the hut and into a canoe,
and others set in the form of a cross as a sign of vengeance.

"As a result of this episode, all the rubber gatherers who lived in those parts left for the islands, abandoning a stretch along the right bank of the Tapajoz some fifty leagues in length, from Apuí to Montanhas.

"When I heard about this at the Mission, I should have liked to fly out in search of those wretched aborigines; but after seriously considering the facts and the information [143] provided by the Mission Mundurucu, I realized that any such attempt would be futile. The thick impassable forests, the lakes, the dense network of streams branching all over the interior, all this makes the passage of a missionary altogether impossible."

XXV

Further antagonism between the missionary of Bacabal and the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

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648 The hostilities between the missionary and those he called
747 foes of the Mission were steadily maintained.

The Imperial Government has to heart the cause of Christianization and was eager to investigate the case, but it was difficult to determine the truth in those faraway parts.

The honorable president of the province of Pará, Commander Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, took it upon himself to visit the Mission of Bacabal in order to study all that pertained to the cause of christianization and to submit a detailed report to the Ministry of Agriculture.

I had the opportunity to observe that this mission which is one of the largest in the Empire, numbering as it does five hundred Indians, is in a position to perform great services by inviting to Christianity not only those Mundurucu who still live in the

648 jungle, far from the banks of the Tapajoz, but also the unruly
747 Parintintin and all the heathen bands that roam the valley of
the Upper Xingu and the borderlands of the province of Mato
Grosso. [144]

The grave accusation had been levelled at Fa. Pelino that by reason of his own private interests he paid more attention to commerce than to catechism.

It is true that the missionary carried out a significant amount of trade with the Pará market, selling rubber, sage, copaiba oil and other natural products of this rich territory which had been extracted by the Mission Indians, and in turn buying foreign goods.

The citizens who lodged the complaint against Fa. Pelino maintained that the greater part of this trade was carried out for his own account, and that he had actually remitted important sums of money to Europe.

But the missionary denied this, asserting that the trade was carried out not for his own benefit but for that of the Mission Indians, who extracted these products from the forest and to whom he submitted accounts.

Be that as it may, in the absence of convincing proof that the missionary actually was enriching himself at the expense of the Mission -- proof all the more needed in view of the gravity of the accusation -- the Government decided to uphold the missionary and the Mission and in fact did so.

Unfortunately, however, new events occurred which placed a heavy strain on the missionary's reputation.

These events grew in consequence, the matter was widely debated in the daily press and on the rostrum of Pará's Legislative Assembly.

In the Chamber of Deputies, the authoritative voice of my distinguished friend, Dr. Cantão, rose in defense of the missionary.

The enlightened opinion of the nation, which is not indifferent to such matters, expressed itself strongly. [145]

It was unfortunately established beyond doubt that the missionary had not always lived up to the trust which the Imperial Government had invested in him.

648 The Minister of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22,
797 1876, excused Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva from his duties as head
of the Mission of Bacabal; at the same time, immediate and
equitable measures were taken to maintain the Mission and to
serve as vigorously as heretofore the cause of christianization in
those remote parts.

XXV

Trade between the hucksters and the Indians of the Upper Tapajoz.

648 The bitter fight waged between the leading citizens of the
797 Itaituba District and the missionary of Bacabal had no other cause
439 than the Indian trade.

[184] I refer here to those Indians who live at the Mission of
Bacabal and at other points of the Upper Tapajoz riverbanks, and
not to the Mundurucu of the central villages, such as Necodemos and
others, which are called villages of the plains.

The latter, who are truly savage, carry out no trade what-
ever, and indeed appear to avoid contact with both missionaries
and petty tradesmen.

The missionary of Bacabal held the combined functions of
director of the settlement, head steward, schoolmaster to both
male and female pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain
assistants from the government to help him in his various tasks,
and kept the Mission totally isolated from any contact with the
inhabitants of the district and especially with the hucksters. [146]

All the Indian trade in Bacabal was carried out through him
directly with the Pará market, and he gave no account whatever
of these transactions to the government.

We shall now endeavor to provide a general idea of the
manner in which trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajoz.

The district of Itaituba, which stretches beyond the Mission
of Bacabal to the borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest
in natural resources in the valley of the Amazon.

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648 It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the
797 provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of
439 their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for \$1. 50 to \$2. 00 a kilo-gram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The district also produces guaraná, a highly precious commodity of acknowledged medicinal worth.

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The Maué Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, sometimes, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

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Guaraná sells on the Pará market for \$4 to \$5 a kilogram; and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes a guaraná decoction every morning and even several times a day as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

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The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147] and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by tradesmen known as regatoões [hucksters or traders], who appear in those parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

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439 is repeated, with the additional danger of foundering on one of
[55] the innumerable rocks which obstruct the course of the stream. To
this must be added privations, fevers, and possible attack by fierce
Indians such as the Parintintin. Some of these peddlers, setting
out from Itaituba, course upriver through the region for a month
and sometimes two.

They find no one to trade with but the Mundurucu and a
few Maufé savages, who go naked or nearly naked, who have not
the slightest notion of our language, of our alphabet, of our sys-
tem of weights and measures, or of the current price of the goods
they sell and the commodities they purchase.

Incredible as it may seem, the traders sell on credit [148]
to savages who own no capital other than a hatchet to bleed the
rubber trees, commodities which add up on running accounts to
such enormous figures as 5, 6 or 7, 000, 000 reis or even more!
Possibly every Indian in those parts is indebted to a considerable
extent. When asked how much they owe, these Indians always
reply: "Who knows! Only the patron can tell!" They always
call their creditor "patron" [patrão].

439 The trader, himself a creditor [sic], regards his Indian
648 debtors as serfs: as best suits his needs, he sends them into the
forest to gather rubber, forbidding them expressly to sell it to
other traders; or makes them paddle his canoe; or takes them to
his home when the harvest is over and puts them to work under his
very eyes. He carries this odious exploitation practically to the
point of slavery; denies them the right to go where they wish;
and if by chance they secretly run away, he sets out after them
and captures them by sheer force.

Many cultivators also have a certain number of Indians at
their service and under their rule. I have seen many of these
savages -- men, women and children -- forcibly retained in the
homes of cultivators. When one of these creditors passes away, the
Indian moves to the home of whoever happens to inherit his share
of the debt. Once on the Upper Tapajoz I asked to whom an
Indian "belonged" who interested me, and got the following reply:
"We don't know yet, because the household of his former master,
who died a short time ago, has not yet been parcelled out."

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797 Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva, who called those wretched Indians to the Mission in large numbers, used to tell them: "My sons, you owe nothing to these illicit tradesmen; from [149] now on, work only for yourselves, for your wives and for your children."

XXVI

Trade between the Indians and the traders --
Strange and fabulous running accounts.

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The missionary of Bacabal showed me several running accounts made out to the Indians by the peddlers, in which the former always owed the latter very large sums of money.

We will reproduce below the running account between the petty tradesman Manoel Quirino Paes and the Indian chief Joaquim Correia Piampé. Then we will outline the same running account, figured out in terms of cash and listing the respective prices.

This will demonstrate that even if we assume an honest and exact listing of the commodities sold as to quantity and quality, and of the rubber purchased as to weight, the goods were dealt out to the Indian at 400 per cent of their cost value.

There follows another running account, indicating that the chief José Francisco owes the trader Jose Domingos de Oliveira the tremendous sum of 6, 876, 282 reis!

It looks like a transaction between two wealthy parties; yet José Domingos de Oliveira is but a poor trader living in a simple hut on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and the chief José Francisco is a half-naked and illiterate savage. [150]

RUNNING ACCOUNT

"The chief Joaquim Corrêa Piampé owes Manoel Quirino Paes to March 28th:

2 cuts thick <u>americano</u> , 80 yards	5 arrobas rubber
2 cuts strong gingham [<u>riscado</u>],	
80 yards	5 "

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1 cut plaid gingham, 30 yards	1 arrobas and a half
4 cuts fine broad gingham, 80 yards	4 arrobas
2 cuts handkerchiefs	1 "
10 alqueires salt	6 "
2 barrels gunpowder, 50 lb. ; 3 arrobas lead	10 "
8 flasks [<u>frisqueiras</u>] <u>cachaça</u> , with large bottle	10 "
6 thousand percussion caps [<u>espoletas</u>]	2 "
1 box soap, 42 lb.	1 "
1 lb. balls of thread	1/2 "
5 firearms	5 "
1 fine black hat	3 "
2 doz. American hatchets [<u>terçados</u>]	7 "
1 doz. American axes [<u>terçados grandes</u>]	3 "
9 strike-a-lights [<u>isqueiros</u>] with flintlock [<u>fuzil</u>]	1 " & 4 lb.
100 gunflints [<u>pederneiras de fogo</u>]	11 " & 8 lb.
4 cutlasses [<u>facas Pampa</u>]	2 arrobas
Balance on 1870 account	11 "
Total	76 1/2 arrobas

"On February 16, 1872, I received twenty-five arrobas of rubber, two arrobas of sernamby and five arrobas of pitch. This leaves [?] fifty arrobas."

To provide a clearer idea of this transaction, we will now outline the same running account, but in terms of our currency and of the prices current on the Para market in the year when the transaction was carried out.

This shows that the goods were sold to the Indian at more than 400 per cent of their cost value. [151]

RUBBER TO BE RECEIVED

COMMODITIES SOLD IN EXCHANGE FOR RUBBER	Cost*	Total	Plus 100%	Against	@	lb.	Price	Total
2 cuts genuine thick <u>americano</u> , 80 yards	\$ 440	\$35,200	\$70,400	against	5	"	\$25,000	\$125,000
2 cuts genuine strong ging- ham [riscado], 80 yards	660	52,800	105,600	"	5	"	"	125,000
1 cut genuine strong ging- ham, 80 yards	260	9,100	18,200	"	1	10	"	32,814
4 cuts broad gingham, 85 yards	400	34,000	68,000	"	4	"	"	100,000
2 cuts handkerchiefs	5,000	10,000	20,000	"	1	"	"	25,000
10 alqueires salt	1,600	16,000	32,000	"	6	"	"	150,000
2 barrels with 50 lb. gun- powder	1,000	50,000	100,000	}	10	"	"	250,000
3 arrobas lead	4,400	13,200	26,400					
8 flasks [<u>frasqueiras</u>] <u>cachaça</u> , with large bottle	6,000	48,000	96,000	"	10	"	"	250,000
6 thousand percussion caps [<u>espoletas</u>]	1,000	6,000	12,000	"	2	"	"	50,000
1 box soap (42 lb.)	400	16,800	33,600	"	1	"	"	25,000
1 lb. balls of thread	1,500	1,500	3,000	"		16	"	12,500
5 second-rate guns	15,000	75,000	150,000	"	5	"	"	125,000

(continued)

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I: Tocantins--68 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[151]

RUBBER TO BE RECEIVED

COMMODITIES SOLD IN EXCHANGE FOR RUBBER	Cost*	Total	Plus 100%	Against	@	lb.	Price	Total
6 [sic] fine black hats	\$ 4,000	\$24,000	\$ 48,000	"	3	"	\$25,000	\$ 75,000
2 dz. genuine American hatchets [terçados]	25,000	50,000	100,000	"	7	"	"	175,000
1 dz. genuine large axes		32,000	64,000	"	3	"	"	75,000
9 strike-a-lights [isqueiros] with flintlocks [fuzil]		4,000	8,000	"	1	4	"	28,124
100 gunflints [pederneiras]		2,000	4,000	"		8	"	6,250
4 cutlasses [facas Pampa]	500	2,000	4,000	"		20	"	15,624
		\$481,600	\$963,200		65	26		\$1,645,312

*in Reis

He balanced the old account, and credited the current account as follows:

9 arrobas rubber at \$25,000	\$225,000	
2 arrobas sernamby at \$16,000	32,000	
5 arrobas pitch at \$2,000	<u>10,000</u>	267,000
		1,378,312

[152]

ANOTHER RUNNING ACCOUNT

439 Chief José Francisco da Boa-Vista has bought from
José Domingos de Oliveira Bahia the following goods and

OWES

Amount owed from August 11, 1870 to
June 8, 1871

\$3,996,815

June 9, 1871

1 gun <u>inxó</u>		5,520
3 dz. lead spoons	\$ 1,600	4,300
24 copper graters	1,325	31,800
16 fine small scissors	550	8,800
1 25-lb. barrel gunpowder	1,980	49,500
1/2 arroba lead	10,830	16,245
2 gallons kerosene	6,500	13,000
12 bunches [<u>massos</u>] coral	1,000	12,000
13 bunches [<u>massos</u>] fine white glass beads	520	6,700
6 flasks [<u>frisqueiras</u>] <u>cachaça</u>	13,320	73,920
12 American hatchets [<u>terçados</u>]		56,207
2 three-span trunks	12,000	24,000
2 boxes soap with 90 lb.	360	32,400
1/2 arrobas sugar	12,000	18,000
1/2 arrobas aged coffee [? <u>café velho</u>]		9,525
2 containers <u>Philantropico</u> ointment	19,000	3,800
2 containers <u>Bristol</u> sarsaparilla	400	2,800
2 containers <u>Opodeldocc</u>	1,200	2,400
1 bottle sweet almond oil	5,480	10,960
8 1/3 covados scarlet baize	800	1,600
1 box <u>Altona</u> ginger		13,500
6 fine felt hats	5,000	30,000
6 stone cups [<u>copos de pedra</u>]		3,000
120 gunflints [<u>pederneiras</u>]	1,600	2,400
5 alqueires salt in bags	5,000	25,000
2 arrobas rice	7,680	15,360

OWES

439 June 9, 1871 (continued)

20 touchholes for firearms	\$ 300	\$ 4,000
2 bundles tobacco, or rather one		
4-lb. bundle	7,000	14,000
100 nails [<u>pregos meio forros</u>]		1,540
4 cans small soda biscuits	1,500	6,000
2 American axes	3,700	7,400

March 23, 1871

12 lb. soap	400	4,800
1/2 gross buttons		600
2 alqueires salt	5,000	10,000

June 9, 1871 [sic]

10 fine firearms	28,000	280,000
2 cuts <u>americano</u> , recent make, 83 yards	656	54,448
[153] 2 cuts <u>inglez</u> , 68 yards	560	38,080
1 cut white <u>dril</u> , 42 1/2 yards	800	33,600
2 cuts broad dyed <u>dril</u> , with 80 yards	660	52,800
2 cuts narrow dyed <u>dril</u> , 80 yards	385	30,880
1 cut blue <u>dril</u> , 42 yards	127	50,694
1 cut thick gingham [<u>riscadão Francisco</u>], 34 yards	1,100	37,400
1 cut strong, superior gingham, 39 yards	1,225	47,770
1 cut blue chintz [<u>rapão</u>], 41 yards	332	35,212
2 cuts thick plaid gingham, 70 yards	450	31,500
1 cut thick blue and white gingham, 34 yards	450	13,525
3 cuts superior quality [sic], 72 yards	500	3,600
2 cuts fine color print calico [<u>chitas</u>], 7 1/2 covados	480	35,680

OWES

439 June 9, 1871 [sic] (cont'd)

2 cuts of same, purple 74 covados & 2/3	\$ 400	\$29, 783
2 cuts of same, blue, 74 covados & 2/3	400	29, 783
2 cuts of same, scarlet, 74 covados & 2/3	4, 800	35, 680
6 cut-out <u>dril</u> trousers	3, 620	21, 720
3 pairs fine color handkerchiefs	6, 600	17, 800
1 large saw		6, 000
3 dz. large cutlasses [<u>facas Pampa</u>]	9, 530	28, 580
2 dz. high rubber [-tapping?] combs, no. 32 [<u>pentes de seringa</u>]	2, 950	41, 900
2 lb. small balls of thread	2, 900	5, 800
3 dz. small spools of thread	600	1, 800
2000 <u>anias</u>	2, 100	4, 200
24 cuts color <u>clastos</u>	1, 920	3, 840
3 gross shirt buttons	400	1, 200
6 gross marking tags [<u>marca</u>]	400	2, 400
7 lb. fishing line	2, 800	19, 600

July 16, 1871

.5 thousand percussion caps [<u>espoletas</u>]	2, 400	12, 000
4 dz. <u>itassumbas</u>	1, 600	6, 400
2 cuts fine color print calico [<u>chitas</u>], 74? 2/3 covados	400	29, 600
2 cuts <u>americano</u> , recent make, 83 yards	750	62, 250
3 cuts of same, wide, dyed, 6 yards	580	34, 800
16 containers ointments	450	7, 200
2 flasks vinegar	1, 800	3, 600
6 flasks red wine	3, 600	19, 200
4 dz. bowls	3, 500	14, 000
6 pair drinking cups	020	7, 920

OWES

439

July 18, 1871 (continued)

1 flask [<u>frasqueira</u>] <u>cachaça</u>		\$12, 200
1 dz. fine white dishes		3, 500
4 bottles <u>Florida</u> water	\$ 1, 700	6, 800

October 2, 1871

300 nails [<u>pregos de ferro</u>]		12, 000
2 flasks [<u>frasqueiras</u>] <u>cachaça</u>	13, 200	26, 400
1 cut genuine <u>americano trançado</u> , 42 yards	990	41, 500
2 bottles liquor	7, 200	2, 400
[154] 1 dz. large cutlases [<u>facas Pampa</u>]	11, 040	11, 740
Money you asked me		4, 000
1 skein guitar string		500
24 copper graters	13, 200	26, 400
1 bundle tobacco		12, 000
16 lb. sugar	220	5, 780

December 2, 1871

1 thousand percussion caps [<u>espoletas</u>]		1, 500
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March 2, 1872

1/2 flask [<u>frasqueira</u>] <u>cachaça</u>		6, 000
1 bundle tobacco		10, 000
Sum I paid to Paulo Christo		41, 040
Plus 10% of said (?) amount		94, 144
Total		\$ 6, 876, 282

CREDIT:

3 arrobas cernamby	\$ 800	\$ 24, 000
45 arrobas fine rubber, shipped to the capital at your own risk and expense (?)		
Jaco-Coara, March 9, 1872		

José Domingos de Oliveira Bahia

Present situation of the aborigines in the
valley of the Amazon.

649
747 The higher powers of the State are not unconcerned with the
face of the aboriginal populations still roaming the jungle like
wild animals, and the national budget yearly grants a considerable
sum to this branch of public service.

But in the realization of this noble task the Government en-
counters great difficulties, one of the main ones being the short-
age of missionaries and of capable and dedicated personnel.

747 The facts have unfortunately proved that it is not possible
to rely on the cooperation of the national clergy.

[83] The aboriginal population of the Amazon Valley may be con-
sidered as being divided into two distinctive groups. One con-
sists of the descendants of former savages, brought out of the
bush by the missionaries of old. These Indians are now baptized,
though I would not call them either Christians or Catholics.
They live in flimsy huts on the banks of the river; they hunt,
fish, and extract the natural resources of the jungle which they
sell to traders.

The children taken to the parson to be baptized return to
the parental hut to grow and live according to the laws of nature;
yet they are considered Catholics and listed as such in the statis-
tics. But they are indifferent to the precepts of Christianity, of
which indeed they know nothing, and remain faithful to the
ancient superstitions of their mythology.

Most of these Indians do not hear even once in the course
of their existence an explanation of Christian doctrine. [156]

The aborigines of the other group remain altogether savage.
They have been moving ever farther away from the banks of the
Amazon and prefer to seek out the upper course of its tributaries.
They have thus placed between themselves and the baptized
groups a wide stretch of waterfalls.

621 This sort of neutral territory, however, is constantly invaded
by the petty traders who penetrate with unbelievable boldness

231 into the farthest recesses of the interior; defying a thousand perils, they go to the savage and invite him not to the practice of agriculture, but to the extraction of rubber, sage, and other bartering commodities. It thus happens that the traders draw the inhabitants of the jungle one by one into the pale of labor.

It is plain that the aboriginal populations of the Amazon Valley have received but a meager share of that treasure of prosperity which civilization and Christianity were to bring them. As far as they are concerned, it seems that Columbus never discovered America and Christ never came to this world.

I shall now sketch out briefly another episode -- the last -- in the life of these stepchildren of fortune.

On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the midst of the stretch of waterfalls, not far from Bacabal and between this mission and the important town of Itaituba, I came upon the ruins of an old trading post.

They consisted of the remnants of four large houses, roofed with palm thatch, which had belonged to a bold frontiersman by the name of Manoel Quirino Paes. He had been murdered not long previously and his memory enjoyed considerable renown.

He was a mulatto who had come down from the province of Mato Grosso as a simple canoe paddler, earning a meager salary for long hours of hard labor.

But he abandoned mapier and canoe, and settled in those parts to devote himself to the extraction of rubber. [187] Later he chose a Maud Indian as his companion and partner, and then another, and another, until he eventually lived with about one hundred Indians of both sexes.

Endowed with great energy and working ability, he claimed an extensive piece of land on either side of the stream and a large island which lies in the middle, all of it forfeited government land.

This land must have held some five thousand rubber trees. At daybreak the lively frontiersman would send out in every direction to his trees, a fleet of light canoes. Each Indian would return in the evening, bringing with him some five kilograms of rubber. Needless to say, all the Indians labored for

43 the benefit of the hard-working mulatto, who could earn without undue effort during the rubber harvest a daily sum of more than \$150,000 [reia].

The amount of rubber he exported was indeed considerable, and I heard it appraised by several Itaituba tradesmen at more than \$200,000,000 [reia] a year. Thus turned prosperous, the mulatto kept the Indians in veritable and rigorous captivity. Woe to the one who should attempt to leave the trading post!

The women were put to work in the household and did not have to go out into the woods and gather rubber. But their bondage was no less cruel.

64 The captive women included a girl from the Maú tribe by the name of Francisca, who angrily rebelled against the despotism and lewd caprices of the petty tyrant. Twice she attempted to run away, and twice she was captured and severely punished.

She firmly resolved to avenge herself, and entrusted this just vengeance to a young boy of the Apiacá tribe who went [158] by the name of José Apiacá. She gave him a loaded shotgun and they waited in ambush one night near a door which the frontiersman was due to enter. When the latter appeared, José Apiacá wavered, but the girl, who remained by his side, attempted to wrench the weapon from his hand, calling him weak and cowardly. Then José Apiacá pressed the trigger, and the tormentor fell dead amid a stream of blood.

They were taken to court in Santarém, and Francisca Maú (sic) proclaimed herself the sole author of the crime. Lifting her short skirt before the court, she bared the marks of the iron which she had long endured.

Before a large audience transfixed with wonder, the angry girl described the scenes of cruelty and horrible licentiousness which had taken place in that fierce man's trading post, with herself and her unfortunate fellow captives as victims. The court absolved her.

José Apiacá, a boy of gentle and attractive mien, declared that he had killed the tormentor in order to free his friends and to avenge Francisca Maú, whom he loved.

5
439
648
The court found him guilty, and the poor boy is now carrying out his sentence in the penal institution of Bahia.

The other Indians immediately abandoned the trading post. It is now four years since they regained their freedom at a time when they least expected it, and the heroic child who broke their fetters lies forgotten in prison, away from his people, and not yet of age. [159]

XXIX

I return from the maloca of Necodemus to the headwaters of the Cadereri -- The cry of the anhangá -- Farewell.

M
434
M
[411]
When the day of my departure finally came, I went from house to house and took leave of the inhabitants of Necodemus.

At this time thirteen Mundurucu, among them the boy who gave me the Parintintin head, seized their bows and arrows and prepared to go with me, although they had told me nothing of their decision. I must confess that I was not in the least eager to travel for eight days in the company of these barbarians through dense and deserted jungles; I was hoping instead that they would remain peacefully in their maloca.

I told them that I had no more flour or other supplies, and that it would be impossible for the twenty-odd men we would number to walk that far without provisions.

But this matter was of no concern to them; they merely prepared to take with them a few sweet potatoes, which at best would suffice for a frugal luncheon.

In fact I do not know exactly what these men ate during the journey. They were constantly hunting, catching birds and lizards and gathering wild fruits on which they fed.

M
[515]
Every once in a while we would come upon a limpid and delightful stream, and the savages never missed the opportunity to leap into the fresh waters, unfettered as they were with the task of undressing and dressing again. At night we would all gather at the sound of the horn, and we always stopped by a [160]

Mu
484 brook that winds every which way through the fields and through
the shade of the virgin forest.

Mu
[52] Following the evening meal, each would string his ham-
mock; those who had not brought one would prepare couches
of branches and leaves.

Mu
64 The Mauf and the Mundurucu, formerly implacable ene-
mies who could not meet without fighting, now slept peacefully
side by side.

CV
I have often been told about the profound silence of the
desert. But in these parts, during the night, there is not a single
instant of absolute silence. A low hum and voices, now near,
now far, hoarse or sharp, shrill or mellow, form a strange orches-
tration: the creaking of branches, the chirping of insects, the
hissing of reptiles, the mournful cries of nocturnal birds.

Mu
825 And in the midst of these discordant sounds a cry echoes,
776 piercing and plaintive, which appears to move constantly about.

The Mauf, heathen of the Tupi nation, said that it was
the "cry of the anhangá." Yet although I questioned them re-
peatedly on the subject, I was unable to find out whether they
attributed the cry simply to the small white deer they call
anhangá, or to the evil spirit which according to their beliefs
is wont to take the form of a deer in order to deceive them and
lead them astray when they go hunting. When they spoke of the
anhangá, however, they showed no signs whatever of superstitious
fear.

CV
Indeed, Tupi mythology portrays the principle of evil simply
as a cunning deer that invents ingenious tricks to lead the hunters
astray.

It is not Siva, portrayed by the oldest Samkrit [161] civiliza-
tion as forever thirsty for blood; nor is it the Ahriman of the
Persians.

It is also very remote from Satan, that combined figure of
dread and masquerade which the missionaries of old so often
mentioned in their sermons and in their chronicles.

At the headwaters of the Cadereri I spent my last day and
night with the Mundurucu who had come with me from Necodemoa.

I gave them all I had in my canoe, including those personal
possessions which were not indispensable to me, and deeply
regretted my inability to do more.

570

At the last minute I pressed them once more to come and see our cities or at least to send us some of their children, whom I promised to return later to their parents.

A few merely responded with a negative sign, and others did not even answer, as if they did not consider the invitation worthy of consideration.

The terrible curse of the Holy Scriptures seems to have descended upon these pitiable savages and their children with merciless fatality: Vagus et profugus eris super terram.
